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Religious Thought and Beliefs in the Southern Appalachians
as Revealed by an Attitude Survey Thomas R. Ford

Religious Beliefs and Expressions of the Southern
Highlander Allen K. Jackson
. and book reviews

REVIEW OF RELIGIOUS RESEARCH

Official Journal of the Religious Research Association, Inc.

Summer 1961

Volume 3 Number 1

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The guest editor of this issue is Earl D. C. Brewer, Professor of Sociology and Religion, Candler School of Theology, Emory University.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

It was suggested that this issue be devoted to articles resulting from the Southern Appalachian studies, the main report of which will be published by the University of Kentucky Press in early Fall 1961. This research project was organized in 1957 by Dr. W. D. Weatherford, Berea College, Kentucky, as chairman of an interdenominational ministers' conference. The research design was developed by a team of social scientists, with sponsorship of the project by a board of directors representing 17 denominations and other religious organizations, and financial support by a grant from the Ford Foundation.

The major purpose of the Southern Appalachian Studies was to analyze the changes which have occurred in the Southern mountains since the Depression, the TVA, and a previous study, the report of which was published by the United States Department of Agriculture in 1935 as Miscellaneous Publication No. 205, *Economic and Social Problems and Conditions of the Southern Appalachians*. The religious phase of that study was carried on by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, with the report, *Religion in the Highlands*, prepared by Elizabeth Hooker and published by the Home Missions Council.

The author of the first article in this issue served as Director of General Research of the Southern Appalachian Studies and has drawn upon the special survey of attitudes of mountain people. He is a professor of sociology at the University of Kentucky. The author of the second article, a professor of sociology at Morningside College, participated in the religious survey of the Southern Appalachian Studies and used some of the data in his doctoral dissertation. These articles deal with some characteristics of religion and relationships between religious beliefs and other social factors. While they are based on two different survey projects of the Southern Appalachian Studies, with different methodologies employed, the similarities in the conclusions are perhaps more significant than the differences.

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND BELIEFS IN THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIANS AS REVEALED BY AN ATTITUDE SURVEY

THOMAS R. FORD
University of Kentucky

Religious values so permeate the culture of the Southern Appalachian region that it is virtually impossible to treat meaningfully any aspect of regional life without taking them into account. Consequently, in the planning of a broad study of social and economic change in the region, it was decided that a major portion of the effort should be devoted to the determination of religious values, beliefs, and practices. The approach used was a sample survey of the population, using a formal schedule that included an extensive section on religious attitudes and beliefs.

The over-all objectives of the survey questions pertaining to religion were to provide some indication of the nature and strength of religious traditionalism and to gain some insight into the complex relationship between religious outlook and secular change. Under these general objectives were subsumed a number of subobjectives, which served to guide the framing of specific questions. In this brief essay primary attention will be focused on the relationship of selected respondent characteristics to: (1) the expression of sectarian beliefs and attitudes, (2) the expression of fundamentalist beliefs and attitudes that transcend contemporary sectarianism but are probably vestiges of the sectarianism of an earlier day, and (3) attitudes concerning the participation of the church and minister in secular activities that have as their end the promotion or influencing of social change.

Sampling Design and Characteristics of Survey Respondents

The universe of the sample was defined as all the households in the Southern Appalachian region, which had been earlier delineated to include 190 counties in a seven-state area. A stratified, two-stage area sample was used in the selection of specific households from which interviews were secured. The strata employed were three types of residential areas: (1) *metropolitan*, which included all counties designated as portions of standard metropolitan areas in the 1950 U.S. census of population; (2) towns and cities in the population range of 2,500 to 49,999, designated for purposes of simplicity as *urban* places; and (3) *rural* areas, which embraced the remainder of the region and contained both village and open-country popula-

tion. It was assumed that these three strata formed a rough continuum with respect to the degree of exposure to the influences of urban industrial society, an assumption which later analysis of the data proved to be essentially correct.

The selection of households and the interviewing of respondents took place during the summer months of 1958. Some 1,466 interview schedules were obtained. Of these, 31.5 per cent were from metropolitan, 19.1 per cent from other urban, and 49.4 per cent from rural households. After the interviews were collected, other subcategories of the population were established on the basis of respondent characteristics. Sex and residence categories were maintained in all tabulations and, in addition, separate tabulations were made by age, educational level, and socioeconomic status of the respondent.

Socioeconomic status categories were based on a composite index that included household income, occupation and schooling of the household head, possession of various items of household equipment, and the respondent's identification of himself as a member of the upper, middle, or working class. Four status categories were established using deviation from the mean index score as the classification criterion. *Upper* status respondents were defined as those with scores one standard deviation or more above the mean, *upper middle* as those with scores ranging from the mean to one unit above it, *lower middle* as those with scores from (and including) the mean to one unit below, and *lower* as those with scores one unit or more below the mean. About a fourth of the respondents could not be classified according to socioeconomic status; they were mostly older persons, many of them widowed and retired, for whom no valid occupational data were secured.

Some of the more important characteristics of the survey households and respondents are shown in Table 1. Because the sampling unit for the survey was the household rather than the individual, the respondents do not constitute a representative sample of the adult population of the region. For that reason the observed distributions of responses to the attitude questions are not necessarily generalizable to the entire adult population of the region. Our concern here, though, is not so much with measuring the prevalence of specific attitudes and beliefs as with examining their relationship to selected characteristics of the respondents.

Sectarian Beliefs and Attitudes

Sectarianism is a useful connotative concept but, like so many other sociological concepts, there is no general agreement on a precise definition

TABLE I

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF SURVEY HOUSEHOLDS AND
RESPONDENTS, BY RESIDENCE,
SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN ATTITUDE SURVEY, 1958

	Rural	Urban	Metropolitan	Total
Household characteristics				
Number of households	724	280	462	1,466
Per cent white	98.5	95.7	93.3	96.3
Average (mean) number persons per household	3.9	3.0	3.3	3.5
Median total household income re- ported (1957)	\$2,830	\$4,478	\$5,475	\$3,951
Respondent characteristics				
Per cent male	40.3	34.3	24.8	34.2
Per cent distribution by age (years):				
Under 30	13.8	14.3	12.3	13.4
30 to 44	30.9	28.9	38.9	33.0
45 to 64	37.7	42.2	34.6	37.6
65 and over	17.4	12.5	11.7	14.7
Unknown	0.2	2.0	2.5	1.3
Per cent distribution by years of schooling completed:				
Under 7	27.3	16.4	9.5	19.6
7 and 8	31.8	13.2	13.4	22.4
9 to 11	15.2	19.3	18.0	16.8
12	13.4	21.8	28.6	19.8
13 or more	11.0	28.6	30.3	20.5
Unknown	1.3	0.7	0.2	0.9
Per cent distribution by socioeconomic status categories:				
Upper	5.0	12.5	22.1	11.8
Upper middle	14.4	25.4	33.5	22.5
Lower middle	30.2	23.6	21.4	26.2
Lower	20.7	7.5	5.2	13.3
Unknown	29.7	31.1	17.7	26.2

of it. This difficulty stems in part from the fact that sectarianism is generally conceived of as a complex of religious traits, not all of which are found in all sects and some of which are found in religious groups not generally

considered to be sects. There are several ways in which the problem of definition may be handled in actual research. One way is by dealing individually or collectively with specific traits that are common to most recognized sects but are rarely found in more highly organized religious groups. A comprehensive list of such distinguishing characteristics is that presented in Pope's classic study *Milhands and Preachers* (pp. 122-124). Another method is to employ one of the church-sect scales, such as that devised by Dynes, in which case sectarianism becomes operationally defined in terms of scale score ("Church-Sect Typology and Socio-Economic Status," *American Sociological Review*, October 1955, pp. 555-560). In this discussion we shall employ the former method, although some of the survey questions and data have recently been used to develop a "fundamentalism scale" employing the Guttman technique (Lamar, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Kentucky, 1961).

It is generally conceded that most churches serving the Southern Appalachian region today are direct descendants of sects that flourished on the American frontier of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The basic religious tone of the region was established during the latter century, which was marked by a series of religious revivals that began with the Great Revival of 1800-1802 and continued almost without interruption throughout most of the century. Although the Presbyterian Church was the most important religious body on the early frontier in the eighteenth century, it failed to retain its strength or popularity as the line of frontier moved westward into the Appalachian mountains. Baptist and Methodist bodies were the chief beneficiaries of revivalism in the region and by the end of the nineteenth century accounted for about 70 per cent of the reported church membership. But there were numerous divisions of both families, some of which retained the strong sectarian flavor of most of the early frontier religious groups, others of which followed the familiar route toward becoming more highly organized and generally more prosperous institutions.

Because of the wide variation of practices among churches of the same denomination, particularly those that have a congregational polity, the name of a religious group is a less reliable guide to its character than are some other traits. Nevertheless, it is of interest that thirty-two of the sixty denominations named as preferences by survey respondents were listed as sects (mostly of the adventist and perfectionist types) in Clark's *The Small Sects of America* (pp. 241-246). But although they made up more than half of the denominational list, these sects were named as preferences by only about a fourth of the rural respondents and about 10 per cent of the urban and metropolitan respondents. Baptist and Methodist bodies con-

tinue to predominate in the region, with about 40 per cent of the respondents expressing preference for churches in the former group and 20 per cent for churches in the latter.

Among the specific traits that presumably distinguish sects from organized churches are three for which the survey provided pertinent data: (1) sectarian emphasis on evangelism and conversion versus church emphasis on religious education; (2) sectarian preference for unspecialized, part-time ministry versus church preference for specialized, professional, full-time ministry; and (3) sectarian stress on "otherworldliness" to the virtual exclusion of secular interests versus the more balanced consideration of sacred and secular affairs by church groups.

Relating to the first of these was the survey question: *Which is more important in leading a religious life, conversion or religious training?* The distribution of responses within different residential groups was as follows:

	Rural	Urban	Metropolitan
Conversion	47.1%	38.6%	43.5%
Religious training	41.8	47.8	48.3
Equally important	5.1	4.3	2.8
Don't know	5.9	9.3	5.4

Considering that in highland religion conversion was generally regarded as "the climax of human experience," to use Hooker's words (*Religion in the Highlands*, p. 153), the response pattern seems to indicate a clear decline in sectarian outlook in the mountain region. Although conversion was regarded as more important by relatively more rural than urban or metropolitan respondents, the residential differences were not consistent when other respondent characteristics were held constant. In all areas the proportion of respondents who attached greater importance to conversion declined appreciably with rises in educational level and socioeconomic status. A majority (53 per cent) of the respondents with less than 9 years of schooling but only 31 per cent of those with schooling beyond high school considered conversion more important. Similarly, the proportion of all lower-status respondents who chose conversion as the more important factor (52 per cent) was twice as great as the proportion of upper-status respondents (26 per cent). The association of response with age was not as great as might have been expected, although it was in the anticipated direction; e.g., a slight majority (51 per cent) of the respondents aged 65 and over named conversion as the more important factor compared with 36.5 per cent of those under 30 years of age. Perhaps what is most significant in the response is that, even in those groups in which a strong sectarian outlook could be expected to predominate, a substantial proportion

of the respondents attached greater importance to religious upbringing than to conversion experience. For example, 35 per cent of the rural respondents with less than 7 years of schooling and 41 per cent of the lower-status rural respondents said they considered religious training more important.

With respect to a second trait differentiating sects from churches—type of minister preferred—a series of four questions was asked. Responses in the three residential areas are summarized in Table 2.

TABLE 2

BELIEFS CONCERNING THE EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING OF MINISTERS: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO SPECIFIED QUESTIONS BY SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN SURVEY RESPONDENTS IN RURAL, URBAN, AND METROPOLITAN AREAS

Question	Response	Rural	Urban	Metropolitan
Should the minister be paid for preaching?	Yes	82.9	93.5	92.8
	No	14.9	5.4	5.7
	Unsure	2.2	1.1	1.5
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
If paid, should a minister give full time to church work or work at a non-church job as well?*	Full time ...	66.4	89.2	88.8
	Part time ...	26.6	4.2	5.6
	Unsure	7.0	6.6	5.6
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
How much education should the minister have?	Seminary ...	29.1	51.8	50.6
	College	19.6	22.5	23.8
	High school	10.1	6.1	5.6
	Makes no difference	39.6	18.2	18.2
	Unsure	1.6	1.4	1.8
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Which do you think is more important for a minister—training for the ministry or a call to preach?	Training ...	13.3	21.8	17.3
	Call to preach	72.5	54.3	53.7
	Equal importance	12.6	21.8	26.6
	Unsure	1.6	2.1	2.4
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Asked only of respondents who thought the minister should be paid for preaching.

Considering the sectarian background of Southern Appalachian religion, the evidence presented in Table 2 reveals a surprisingly strong preference for a professional ministry. An overwhelming majority of respondents in all areas expressed the belief that the minister should be paid, and even in rural areas two out of three respondents who thought he should be paid also thought he should be employed full time in church work. Nearly half of the rural respondents and close to three fourths of the urban and metropolitan respondents said the minister should have a college education or seminary training, but relatively few considered such training more important than "a call" to the ministry.

If one considers as sectarians only those who believe the minister should be nonprofessional in the sense that (1) he is either unpaid or preaches only part time, and (2) he needs no particular education or training to teach, only a minority of the respondents in any of the three major areas could be considered to have a true sectarian spirit. The question concerning the relative importance of training and the call to preach obviously tapped something more widespread than a sectarian philosophy, but the stronger sectarianism of rural respondents is clearly apparent in their preponderant stress on "the call."

In none of the tabulated respondent categories did more than a third of the respondents express a preference for unpaid or part-time ministers. The strongest support for lay ministers, as would be expected, came from the least educated and lowest-status rural residents. The strongest support for professional, full-time ministers came from upper-status urban residents. In all areas the proportion of respondents who claimed that the schooling received by the minister was not important to his mission was strongly and negatively associated with educational level and socioeconomic status. For the total respondent group, the proportion who said that education was unimportant declined from 51 per cent of those with less than seven years of schooling to only 2 per cent of those with thirteen years or more; and from 48 per cent of the lower-status group to less than 2 per cent of the upper-status category. There was no significant or consistent association of response with age, however.

The importance attached to the call to preach, as opposed to formal training, was also more closely associated with education and socioeconomic status than with age. Five out of six respondents with less than seven years' schooling compared with 37 per cent of those with some college education expressed the belief that the call to preach was of greater importance. By socioeconomic status, the decline was from 81 per cent of the lower

group to 38 per cent of the upper-status group. Relatively more of the oldest respondents expressed belief in the greater importance of the call, but among the three other age categories the differences in proportions were minor and in no consistent direction. As earlier stated, this question undoubtedly measured some aspect of religious conservatism that is more prevalent than sectarianism, but whatever belief it measured was associated with social and economic characteristics in much the same way as the beliefs that are more clearly of a sectarian nature.

Several questions were directed toward the exploration of the other-worldly orientation of the respondent population, one of which was concerned with millenarian beliefs. The Apocalypse has long held a tremendous fascination for many mountain sects, probably because of the psychological appeal of the revelation that unbelievers (generally defined as those who are not members of the particular sect) will be destroyed in a series of cataclysms, while true Christians (synonymous with sect members) will survive to enjoy the millennial reign of the returned Christ. In the Revelation of St. John the members of the "disinherited classes," to use Richard Niebuhr's term, see the promise of achieving an exalted status sharply contrasting with their current lowly station. Perhaps equally satisfying is the prospect of the imminent destruction of those who from a temporary vantage point look with contempt upon "the servants of the Lord." The specific survey question was framed as follows: *Some religious groups teach that the world is soon coming to an end. Do you believe this is true?* The percentages of respondents, by residence and socioeconomic status, who replied affirmatively to this question are shown in Table 3.

In none of the tabulated categories did a majority of respondents claim to accept the premillenarian belief implicit in the question. Most, although not all, of the greater prevalence of premillenarians in rural areas is associated with differences in the social and economic composition of the population. The high proportion of premillenarians in the lower socioeconomic status group in metropolitan areas may be partly attributable to an influx of rural migrants, but in any case the base is too small to attach great importance to the percentage. The data clearly indicate the close relationship between socioeconomic status and acceptance of the premillenarian dogma. The reason for the somewhat curvilinear relationship with schooling level is not readily apparent. It should be noted that not all of the respondents who did not give an affirmative answer categorically rejected the possibility of the imminent end of the world. Instead about 30 per cent, with little variation by category, replied that they were unsure or

simply did not know, but the doubts of some of these may have been based more on the prospects of an atomic war than on the return of the Messiah. There was no significant or consistent association of premillenarian beliefs with age.

Another survey question, which was selected primarily as a measure of the value ascribed to individual striving and achievement but which by implication may be indicative of an otherworldly orientation, was *Do you think God is more pleased when people try to get ahead or when they are satisfied with what they have?* The percentage distribution of responses by different residential groups was as follows:

	Rural	Urban	Metropolitan
When people try to get ahead	36.5	52.1	55.2
When people are satisfied	57.5	39.3	37.7
God is not concerned	1.4	2.1	1.3
Don't know and no response	4.6	6.5	5.8

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN RESIDENTS EXPRESSING BELIEF THAT *THE WORLD IS SOON COMING TO AN END*, BY RESIDENCE, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, AND SCHOOLING LEVEL

Socioeconomic status and schooling level	Rural		Urban		Metropolitan		Total	
	%	Base*	%	Base*	%	Base*	%	Base*
All respondents	30.5	724	14.6	280	15.2	462	22.6	1,466
Socioeconomic status:								
Lower	37.3	150	14.3	21	45.8	24	35.9	195
Lower middle	31.5	219	16.7	66	18.2	99	25.5	384
Upper middle	17.3	104	7.0	71	11.6	155	12.4	330
Upper	0.0	36	0.0	35	3.9	102	2.3	173
Unknown	36.3	215	33.8	87	23.2	82	31.0	384
Years of schooling completed:**								
6 or less	33.8	198	26.1	46	20.5	44	30.6	288
7 and 8	40.0	230	13.5	37	37.1	62	36.5	329
9 to 11	29.1	110	27.9	54	24.1	83	27.9	247
12	21.6	97	6.6	61	7.6	132	12.1	290
13 or more	7.5	80	3.8	80	5.7	140	5.7	300

*Base is number of individuals in category used in computing percentage.

**Percentages not computed for 12 respondents whose educational level was unknown.

Again, the associations of response with socioeconomic status and level of schooling were much greater than the associations with residence, as seen in Table 4, which shows the percentage of respondents in each socioeconomic status category and educational group who expressed a passive view. The extremely high proportion of "passivists" in the total population suggests that more is behind their response than simply an otherworldly orientation, however. Quite possibly it is nothing more than the very human tendency to attribute divine sanction to one's own actions, a tendency which is in this instance would seem to be as true of those who were achievement oriented as of those who were not.

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN SURVEY
RESPONDENTS EXPRESSING THE BELIEF THAT *GOD IS MORE
PLEASED WHEN PEOPLE ARE SATISFIED WITH WHAT THEY
HAVE THAN WHEN THEY TRY TO GET AHEAD*, BY RESIDENCE,
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, AND SCHOOLING LEVEL

Socioeconomic status and schooling level	Rural		Urban		Metropolitan		Total	
	%	Base*	%	Base*	%	Base*	%	Base*
All respondents	57.5	724	39.3	280	37.7	462	47.7	1,466
Socioeconomic status:								
Lower	77.3	150	52.4	21	91.7	24	76.4	195
Lower middle	53.0	219	59.1	66	56.6	99	54.9	384
Upper middle	34.6	104	19.7	71	25.8	155	27.3	330
Upper	19.4	36	17.1	35	15.7	102	16.8	173
Unknown	65.6	215	46.0	87	48.8	82	57.6	384
Years of schooling completed:**								
6 or less	72.7	198	58.7	46	63.6	44	69.1	288
7 and 8	67.0	230	59.5	37	56.5	62	64.1	329
9 to 11	58.2	110	48.1	54	53.0	83	54.3	247
12	29.9	97	32.8	61	32.6	132	31.7	290
13 or more	23.8	80	18.8	80	17.1	140	19.3	300

*Number of respondents in category used in computing percentage.

**Percentages not computed for 12 respondents whose educational level was unknown.

Sectarian religion in the Southern Appalachians, as in most other places, has long served as a mode of adjustment to privation and emotional inse-

curity. Although there are no precise measures of its prevalence, either in the past or at present, it seems almost certain that sectarianism has declined over the past decades. The survey data support the general supposition that the sectarian spirit is most strongly exhibited by the economically and socially deprived and, largely as a consequence, is most heavily concentrated in rural areas. It would logically follow that the increasing urbanization of the Southern Appalachian population, the general rise in educational level, and improved economic circumstances—at least in metropolitan areas—have all operated to reduce the over-all proportion of sect adherents within the region. At the same time the possibility of a revival of sectarianism in the wake of recent economic crises affecting many parts of the region, especially those areas most dependent upon agriculture and coal mining, cannot be discounted. Nevertheless, sectarian beliefs do not seem to predominate even among rural residents at the present time, and there seems little likelihood that the “new sectarianism” will be embraced by a majority of the regional population, barring the extension and increasing severity of the current economic depression.

Religious Conservatism

If the main body of religious belief and practice has discarded many of its sectarian attributes, it still adheres strongly to a variety of fundamentalist principles. What is commonly meant by fundamentalism as applied to Southern Protestantism is a system of beliefs that are frequently but not always closely associated, the core element being Biblicism, or acceptance of the literally-interpreted Scriptures. Built around this core are various other religious tenets which usually stress some particular Biblical accounts or precepts to be accepted or practiced as evidences of Christian faith. There is also an ethical aspect to fundamentalist Protestantism commonly referred to as “Puritan morality” that finds expression in strong condemnation of such practices as drinking, dancing, gambling, swearing, card playing, and using tobacco.

Although most sects in the Southern Appalachians are fundamentalist in their religious doctrine, it is not true that most fundamentalists are sectarian. Fundamentalism is quite prevalent in urban and metropolitan parts of the region where the sectarian traits and beliefs discussed in the preceding section are relatively uncommon. Evidence of this is provided in the responses to a survey question in which respondents were given four statements concerning the Bible and asked to indicate which was closest to their own view. The statements and the percentages of respondents in rural, urban, and metropolitan areas endorsing each were as follows:

	Rural	Urban	Metropolitan
The Bible is God's Word and all it says is true. 74.3	59.6	62.1	
The Bible was written by men inspired by God, and its basic moral and religious teachings are true, but because the writers were men, it contains some human errors.21.8	35.7	36.1	
The Bible is a valuable book because it was written by wise and good men but God had nothing to do with it.1.0	2.5	0.2	
The Bible was written by men who lived so long ago that it is of little value today.0.8	0.7	0.2	

About 2 per cent of the respondents were unable or unwilling to select one of the four statements as representative of their view, so the totals of the figures shown do not add up to 100 per cent.

The only groups in which Biblicists did not predominate were those of upper socioeconomic status and those with more than 12 years of schooling, as shown in Table 5. Particularly interesting is the fact that nearly two thirds of both the upper-middle-status respondents and those who had graduated from high school but had not gone beyond subscribed to the fundamentalist interpretation. The great majority of these respondents are manifestly not members of sects, as evidenced by their responses to other survey questions as well as by their denominational affiliations, but they are still extremely conservative in this particular regard. Why they should have retained this trait while discarding others of sectarian origin poses a sociological question that remains to be fully explored.

The persistence of a fundamentalist philosophy is indicated by the fact that 64.5 per cent of the youngest group of respondents (under 30 years of age) chose the Biblicist interpretation of the Bible while only 32.5 per cent chose the Modernist interpretation as being closer to their own view. In comparison, 68.5 per cent of the respondents aged 65 and over selected the Biblicist view and 26.5 the Modernist interpretation. Among metropolitan respondents the proportion of Biblicists was actually greater in the youngest age group (63 per cent) than in the oldest (52 per cent). This may represent a resurgence of fundamentalism, but more probably it reflects the heavy migration of young adults from rural to metropolitan areas. In the rural areas the proportion of Biblicists was less for the youngest respondents (64 per cent) than for the oldest (76 per cent), and the proportion of Modernists was more for the youngest group (34 per cent) than for the oldest (19 per cent).

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN SURVEY RESPONDENTS ENDORSING THE STATEMENT *THE BIBLE IS GOD'S WORD AND ALL IT SAYS IS TRUE*, BY RESIDENCE, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, AND SCHOOLING LEVEL

Socioeconomic status and schooling level	Rural		Urban		Metropolitan		Total	
	%	Base*	%	Base*	%	Base*	%	Base*
All respondents	74.3	724	59.6	280	62.1	462	67.7	1,466

Socioeconomic status:

Lower	75.3	150	96.2	21	91.7	24	79.5	195
Lower middle	76.3	219	66.7	66	65.7	99	71.9	384
Upper middle	66.3	104	53.5	71	67.1	155	63.9	330
Upper	36.1	36	20.0	35	35.3	102	32.4	173
Unknown	81.9	215	89.2	87	73.2	82	76.6	384

Years of schooling completed:**

6 or less	78.3	198	78.3	46	88.6	44	79.9	288
7 and 8	80.0	230	78.4	37	77.4	62	79.3	329
9 to 11	76.4	110	61.1	54	66.3	83	69.6	247
12	64.9	97	65.6	61	62.1	132	63.8	290
13 or more	53.8	80	33.8	80	34.3	140	44.0	300

*Number of respondents in category used in computing percentage.

**Percentages not computed for 12 respondents whose educational level was unknown.

To measure the prevalence of Puritan morality associated with fundamentalism, respondents were asked to rate each of a list of frequently condemned practices and activities as being always wrong, sometimes wrong, or never wrong. The categorical rating of a practice as *always wrong* was assumed to be a manifestation of the fundamentalist ethic. One of the more significant findings from the ratings was the tremendous variation in the disapproval accorded different practices as shown in Table 6. Quite possibly the variation indicates that this aspect of fundamentalism is undergoing rapid change, but it is not readily apparent why some previously condemned practices, such as dancing, have become so much more widely accepted than others, such as keeping a store open on Sunday or drinking.

The proportion of respondents professing Puritanical views varied inversely with socioeconomic status and educational level, as was true in the case of other fundamentalist traits, but appreciable differences still obtained

between residential groups even when these factors were controlled. This suggests the greater exercise of community influences on the ethical aspect of fundamentalism than is found in the case of belief aspects of a more personal nature. Because of the symbolic significance of certain "personal" beliefs, though, it is not easy to draw generalizations as to which are considered of public concern and which are not. A further complication in seeking to interpret expressed ethical views is the frequent existence of a double standard of morality, as in the case of individuals who themselves drink but support local prohibition because they genuinely feel that the easy availability of alcoholic beverages poses a threat to community welfare.

TABLE 6
PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN SURVEY
RESPONDENTS, BY RESIDENCE, RATING SPECIFIED
ACTIVITIES AND PRACTICES AS *ALWAYS WRONG*

Activity or practice	Rural	Urban	Metropolitan
Swearing and cursing	96.8	88.6	92.4
Gambling	91.7	80.3	76.8
Drinking	87.8	71.1	61.3
Keeping a store open on Sunday	55.1	49.3	40.0
Divorce	42.5	28.6	24.4
Card playing	44.5	24.3	17.1
Using tobacco	28.6	22.1	18.2
Dancing	32.2	13.6	10.2

Unlike some other aspects of fundamentalism, Puritanism was clearly related to age of respondents in all areas. To illustrate, the percentages of respondents in various age groups who rated dancing, card playing, and keeping a store open on Sunday as *always wrong* were as follows:

Age group	Card playing	Dancing	Keeping a store open on Sunday
Under 30	18.3%	9.1%	31.5%
30 - 44	25.2	16.3	42.4
45 - 64	36.8	25.2	55.0
65 and over	50.2	38.1	65.1

It is especially interesting that the decline of Puritanism with decreasing age was consistent in metropolitan areas as well as in rural and urban, for it will be recalled that the youngest group of metropolitan residents contained a higher proportion of Biblicists than the oldest age group. It seems

obvious that the ethical aspect of fundamentalism is changing more rapidly than the creedal aspect, with which it is linked implicitly rather than explicitly, but the reasons for the varying rates of change pose an interesting problem for further research.

Religion and Social Change

Despite the pervasive influence of religion in mountain life, there has traditionally been a sharp cleavage between religious and secular activities. Sectarian religion, of course, provided a psychological escape from the harsh realities of worldly life, and this strategy of retreat is still followed to a considerable extent at the present time. Even when they are not other-worldly oriented, many mountain people feel strongly that religion should be concerned solely with the preaching of the Gospel and the salvation of souls, keeping aloof from secular affairs. But in the past as in the present, some churches have directly administered programs that have had as an objective the improvement of social and economic conditions; however, the underlying rationale has been evangelistic, and it is significant that most such programs have not only received their major support from institutions outside the region but have also been largely staffed by outsiders. In the earlier days social improvement efforts took form in the establishment of mission schools and, less often, clinics and hospitals in the mountain area. As improved systems of public education and health gradually have assumed responsibility for the provision of schools and medical facilities for rural people, social-minded religious leaders have looked for other ways in which they could aid in the solution of the social and economic problems of the region. In their search they have given serious consideration to the potentialities of local churches and church organizations as social-action agencies. Since this represents a considerable departure from the traditional role of the church in the region, an attempt was made in the survey to gain some measure of the attitudes toward the participation of churches and ministers in social-action programs.

Respondents were asked to tell in which of eighteen activities or practices listed they thought churches should engage. Included in the list was the item *community improvement programs*, endorsement of which implied a belief that the church should engage directly in social action that was not of a specifically religious nature. Approximately 84 per cent of the respondents endorsed the item, 12 per cent indicated they did not think churches should engage in community action, and 4 per cent said they weren't sure. There was very little variation by type of residential area, but the strongest opposition (about 15 per cent) came from metropolitan residents.

In comparison with the other specified activities *community improvement programs* ranked well down the list in popular endorsement—eleventh out of the eighteen. It was clearly not considered as vital an activity as missionary work, revival meetings, Sunday schools, and prayer meetings, all of which were supported by more than 90 per cent of the respondents. On the other hand, it ranked well ahead of such activities as church bazaars (49 per cent endorsement), square dances (20 per cent), and raising money for the preacher (66 per cent). Acceptance of an activity cannot be interpreted as a demand for or even support of it. Nevertheless, the surprisingly small proportion of respondents who were positively opposed to this type of church program indicates that social action is no longer considered outside the legitimate sphere of religious activity.

A second approach used in the determination of attitudes toward participation of the church in social action programs was the evaluation of ministerial functions. Respondents were asked to indicate which one of six functions commonly performed by ministers they considered most important and which one least important. The functions and percentage distribution of ratings are shown in Table 7. The item which received the fewest number of *most-important* ratings was *speak at community functions and work in community activities*. It also received the next highest number of *least-important* ratings, being exceeded in this regard by the function *look after the finances and activities of the church*. Apparently the juxtaposition of money and religion is still distasteful to many Appalachian residents.

These rankings do not indicate that participation in community affairs by the minister is considered to be of no importance, but they do indicate a clear preference for his serving primarily as pastor and prophet, secondarily as priest and teacher. Presumably after he has given priority attention to the performance of these functions, he may, and perhaps should, serve as church administrator and social reformer.

A final survey item, which dealt directly with the "social gospel" issue, was the question *Do you think ministers ought to take a public stand on public issues facing the community?* The distribution of responses to this question by residence of the respondent was as follows:

	Rural	Urban	Metropolitan
Minister should take a stand	51.8%	64.6%	65.6%
Minister should not take a stand	29.8	23.9	22.7
Don't know if he should or not	18.4	11.5	11.7

In all areas the majority opinion was that the minister should "stand up and be counted" on important social issues, but one may infer that there is still strong sentiment, particularly in rural areas, for him to confine his preaching to the Scriptures.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN RESPONDENTS,
BY RESIDENCE, RATING SPECIFIED MINISTERIAL
ACTIVITIES AS *MOST IMPORTANT* AND *LEAST IMPORTANT*

Ministerial Activity	Rural		Urban		Metropolitan	
	Most important	Least important	Most important	Least important	Most. important	Least important
Visit in homes of members and talk with sick and troubled	55.0	1.2	47.1	0.7	41.0	0.2
Preach in regu- lar services and on other occasions	30.2	0.3	32.4	0.4	36.9	0.2
Bury the dead, perform mar- riages, hold Lord's Supper, perform Baptisms	2.5	0.6	7.6	0.4	9.8	1.3
Teach church membership classes and the Bible	4.0	3.6	2.5	5.0	3.1	0.4
Look after the finances and activities of the church	0.2	47.3	0.7	47.5	2.6	49.0
Speak at commun- ity functions and work in community activities	0.2	32.3	0.0	36.7	0.7	43.6

Unlike many other aspects of religious belief, attitudes toward social action were not consistently related to socioeconomic status, educational level, or age of respondents. The strongest opposition to church participation in community improvement came from upper-status women in all areas, about a fourth of whom indicated that the church should not participate in such activities. Less than ten per cent of the upper-status men and from seven to ten per cent of the women in other status categories expressed opposition. Female opposition was particularly strong in metropolitan areas but was concentrated in the upper-status, college-educated, and oldest groups. The responses of men in these categories did not differ appreciably from those of other men.

So far as the community role of the minister was concerned, the attitudes of the upper-status and college-trained men and women did not differ consistently from those of other respondents. All rated it of little importance compared with the other roles except that of church administrator and financial overseer, and lower-status respondents and elderly women rated the community service function of the minister even less important than his administrative function. On the question of whether the minister should take a public stand on community issues, upper-status respondents expressed the greatest opposition (37 per cent) followed closely by lower-status respondents (32 per cent). A fourth of the lower-middle and a fifth of the upper-middle groups were opposed, and respondents over 65 years of age were slightly more against such ministerial influence than were younger respondents. But with few exceptions (notably, lower-status rural men and elderly metropolitan women) more respondents favored than opposed the minister's speaking out on important public issues.

The data on attitudes toward church and ministerial involvement in social-action programs indicate a shift in belief in this area of religious thought, resulting in some obvious inconsistencies in the over-all religious philosophy of different groups. Many Southern Appalachian residents of lower social and economic status who implicitly endorse the view that there is no earthly escape from the hardships and evils of secular life explicitly endorse church participation in programs aimed at improving social and economic conditions. On the other hand, some of the strongest opposition to such secular activities of churches and ministers comes from groups who strongly subscribe to a philosophy of social progress but apparently do not feel that the promotion of this progress is a proper function of religion. Although it certainly will not come as news to social-minded ministers that they are likely to receive their strongest resistance to social-action proposals from the ranks of the best educated and financially secure, the fact that such members are also likely to exercise considerable influence in congre-

gational decisions would seem to justify further investigation of the underlying reasons for this resistance.

Summary

The religious questions included in the Southern Appalachian attitude survey were of an exploratory nature rather than designed to test rigorously any specific theory or hypotheses. Nevertheless, the data do seem to support several general conclusions. First, sectarian religious beliefs and behavior do not seem to be as prevalent in the Southern Appalachian region at the present time as has been popularly supposed. They are probably more common there than in other parts of the nation, but they do not represent the dominant mode of religion even in rural parts of the region. The survey data support the thesis that sectarianism is a product of social and economic deprivation, but this is only a partial explanation, for large proportions of the lower-status and poorly-educated respondents were not ardent sectarians by any means. This is particularly significant in view of the religious heritage of the region and suggests the need for further research in the isolation of factors associated with the acceptance or rejection of a sectarian philosophy.

Second, the religion of the region is still highly conservative even though it has lost many of its sectarian attributes. The firm rock upon which it stands is the staunch belief in the Holy Scriptures as the revealed word of God, unadulterated and infallible, and this belief shows remarkably few signs of disintegrating. The reasons for the persistence of this aspect of fundamentalist religion, even among the relatively well educated and economically secure who have discarded most sectarian attributes, poses another challenging research problem. The Puritan ethic shows somewhat greater signs of erosion, but not as a general body of belief. That is, some activities such as drinking and gambling were regarded as unconditionally evil by most respondents, while other activities such as dancing and playing cards were considered categorically wrong by relatively small minorities. This differential attrition poses another interesting question for further research.

Finally, the idea that the church should play an active role in the promotion of social improvements seems to be generally accepted, but the social-action function is not accorded high priority. Furthermore, there was no simple relationship of beliefs in this regard with respondent characteristics. Although religion still operates as a restraint on individual initiative for those who continue to use it as an escape from unpleasant reality, not even the otherworldly oriented are inclined to reject summarily church

participation in social improvement programs. On the other hand, there is little evidence that a social gospel is more fully accepted by the better educated and more prosperous. *If* this is the case, there is little reason to suppose that the churches of the region will play a direct, major role in the social and economic development of the Southern Appalachian area in the near future. But whether or not this proves true, there still remain, in a virtually unexplored area in the sociology of religion, the questions of what gives rise to social-action movements in a church, who supports such movements, and why.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND EXPRESSIONS OF THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDER

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The object of this paper is to present the results of research on some of the characteristics of religion in a sample number of churches in the Southern Appalachian Mountains. There are three main questions toward which the research in this paper is oriented: (1) What are some of the dominant characteristics of religious services and beliefs in the region? (2) To what degree have liberal theological views penetrated this region, sometimes referred to as the "Bible and Revival belt"? (3) Are the liberal religious views related to higher levels of occupational prestige and educational attainment?

The Sample Design

The data presented here were obtained from a religious survey taken in 1959 under the auspices of the Southern Appalachian Studies. The sampling design for this survey involved a multistage process. (1) One county was randomly selected from each of the state economic and metropolitan areas (this included a subsample of the counties included in the Hooker study, *Religion in the Highlands*); this produced six metropolitan and eighteen nonmetropolitan counties. (2) Minor civil divisions were ranked randomly in each county and at least fifteen churches located by cruising, beginning with the lowest ranked division. (3) From this list in each county, three churches of different denominations were randomly selected for in-

tensive study. This gave a sample of 72 churches of 27 denominations. (4) For each church, five designated church leaders (pastor, church board chairman, Sunday school superintendent, woman leader, and youth leader), five randomly chosen church members, and five nonchurch members in the area were selected for interviews. This process provided a total of 1,078 usable schedules, although the analysis in this paper excludes data from the 359 nonmembers. Tape recordings were taken in the sample churches of sermons, lay talks, and group discussions of religious beliefs. The interview schedules for church leaders and members and the typescripts of the tape recordings provide the major sources of data.

Religious Background

Traditionally this mountainous and rural region has been known to be strongly sectarian in organization and fundamentalistic in beliefs. Campbell, in *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland*, wrote in 1921 of the prevalence in remote areas of churches whose religious views were extremely conservative compared to churches of the same denomination in urban areas or in other regions (p. 170).

Hooker visited and studied the churches of seventeen rural counties of the region in the early 1930's. She documented the pervading presence of characteristics now recognized as sectarian. The majority of churches at that time in the rural counties had one-room frame buildings and were attached either to a circuit or were served by laymen who had other occupations. There were in most of the churches an evangelistic emphasis upon individual salvation by means of an emotionally climactic experience and stress upon a puritan morality of "separation from the world." Fundamentalism as a set of related beliefs about the literal accuracy of the Bible, the virgin birth, the bodily resurrection, and the active work of the Holy Spirit was generally accepted. At that time Hooker reported on many splinter-like sect groups which were oriented around certain doctrines or Biblical interpretations and had no wider denominational connections.

Expected Findings

Now, long after the frontier settlement of the region and some three decades after the study by Hooker, this research is directed to discover changes in the religious beliefs, and to find the trend of these changes in relationship to other social factors.

The region as a whole is still dominantly rural and economically depressed, but movements toward urbanism and toward a higher standard of

living for many people are going on. The implications of these larger social changes for changes in religious beliefs can be stated in terms of expected findings that draw from the tradition of sect-church studies.

Troeltsch and Weber first clarified the close relationship between the interests and needs of the lower social strata and sectarian religion. Richard Niebuhr went on to suggest that the sectarian nature of religion found along the early American frontier and in mountainous regions was the product of a psychology similar to that of the revolutionary poor and reflected economic insecurity, lack of intellectual stimulation, and an impoverished social life (*The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, pp. 141-142). He presumed that this was one instance of a general functional relationship between the social-cultural conditions and the religious beliefs that arise and flourish under those conditions.

More recently Dynes has demonstrated the relationship of varying attitudes on a sect-church continuum to socioeconomic status, where church-type orientations become more dominant with each level of higher social status ("Church-Sect Typology and Socio-Economic Status," *American Sociological Review*, October 1955, pp. 555-560). Bultena also found, in a study of 18 churches in Madison, Wisconsin, that the religious beliefs on a continuum of supernaturalism-naturalism varied in almost direct relation to various indices of social status. Naturalism, which is a type of liberal religious orientation, correlated with higher mean levels of education and higher house evaluations for the church members. (*Vide* Bultena, "Sociological Study of Eighteen Protestant Churches of Madison, Wisconsin," unpublished dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1945.)

Building upon these previous insights and empirical studies, some expected variations in religious characteristics and beliefs can be projected for the region. If the sectarian nature of religion in the Southern Appalachians were largely the product of the poverty, illiteracy, and isolation, then as the people become more prosperous, reach higher levels of education, and participate more in the national culture, the sectarian orientations should alter toward the church type. The gradual change toward the church type should appear conspicuously in the forms of worship. It should also appear in the alteration of religious beliefs with some advance of liberal beliefs. The traditional fundamentalistic beliefs of sectarianism can be expected to give way to more liberal beliefs in relation to higher levels of education and occupational achievement.

Following a presentation of some descriptive data, the proposed relationship of variation in beliefs with variation in status is presented as a

specific test of the general functional theory. This test is more modest in scope than attempting to specify how all the organizational traits of religion might vary at differing rates of speed in relation to social status variables, but the burden of proof is heavy in claiming that theological beliefs, supposedly so stable, so far removed from the mundane affairs of men, change in relation to social status.

Empirical Findings on the Ritual Type of Worship Service

Using data from the sample churches, it was possible to get a picture of worship services that characterize religion in the Southern Appalachians today. By revising and applying a ritual typology developed by Daniel ("Ritual and Stratification in Chicago Negro Churches," *American Sociological Review*, June 1942, pp. 352-361), the worship services of 64 of the sample churches were compared and classified into the following categories:

- (1) Ecstatic sects or cults: the "dancing crowd" type.
- (2) Semidemonstrative groups: use of vocal assent, spontaneous "amens" and other statements of affirmation and response from the congregation.
- (3) Informal groups: hymns may be determined by request and repeated, members of the congregation may be called upon for extemporaneous prayer or testimonials, and the ritual order is flexible; the congregation is passive during the sermon.
- (4) Deliberative churches: those with a regular preplanned and professionally directed worship and a sermon-centered service.
- (5) Liturgical churches: those with a very formal, traditional ritual.

The churches were grouped into these ritual types after carefully reading through the typescripts taken from the tape recordings and the notes provided by the field interviewers. As a way of checking these groupings, it was possible to use the sect-church attitude scores on the scale developed by Dynes. (*Vide* Dynes, "Church-Sect Typology: An Empirical Study," unpublished dissertation, Ohio State University, 1954.) These scores were secured from the individual interviews held with the five leaders and five members of each church. By taking the mean of the sect-church scores for each church, and summing and averaging the scores of the churches within the various ritual categories, a single mean sect-church score for each category was secured.

Where a lower score means a greater degree of sectness, the scores vary in the expected direction in each grouping with the more formal serv-

ices correlating with church-type attitudes. When Dynes first used his scale on a random sample of church members in Columbus, Ohio, the median score was 71, with a range of 33 to 103. The fact that in this regional sample the churches with the most liturgical services average lower than the midpoint of the sample population in Columbus indicates the general prevalence of sectlike orientations in the Southern Appalachians. The median sect-church score for the region was 57, with a range of 28 to 89.

TABLE 1
RITUAL TYPES AND MEAN SECT-CHURCH SCORES

	Ecstatic	Semidemonstrative	Informal	Deliberative	Liturgical
Number of churches	2	9	17	33	3
Sect-church mean score	45.9	52.0	55.2	60.1	65.0

Twenty-eight of the churches, or better than 43 per cent of the sample, are classified as ecstatic, semidemonstrative, or informal, and thus maintain a pattern of worship characteristic of the region in frontier conditions. The majority of the churches, however, fall into the more formal, pre-planned, professionally-led services. It is clear that the deliberative service is the dominant form now. Compared with the descriptions given by Hooker, the gradual trend toward the more formal service is indicated.

Sermon Designs

Taking from McCracken some suggestions for characterizing sermon designs, the sermons were further classified into the following five categories:

- (1) Ethical-social: emphasizing morality, justice, kindness, conscience, or some special social evils such as corruption, juvenile and adult delinquency, drunkenness, gambling, racial and class prejudice, bigotry, economic exploitation, bad housing, or unfair labor practices.
- (2) Devotional: dealing with means of deepening the spiritual life, prayer, comfort, promise, assurance, safety, inspiration.
- (3) Theological-apologetical: dealing with the doctrine of God, man, the Holy Spirit, revelation, salvation, what God is like, how we know life has meaning, attempts to make some specific theological idea explicit and reasonable.

- (4) Psychological: dealing with some principle such as repression, rationalization, alibis and evasions, or concerning some disturbing emotion such as fear, hate, guilt, worry, envy, or discussing some desire such as the drive for security, significance, feelings of adequacy, and self-acceptance.
- (5) Evangelical: preaching for a verdict, seeking a decision, stressing the personal encounter, confronting the pew with the necessity of commitment to Jesus Christ, also urging others to carry the message of Christ to their friends and neighbors.

Table 2 shows the number of churches in each category of sermon design, and also shows the mean sect church scores for the churches in these categories.

TABLE 2
SERMON DESIGNS

	Number of churches	Sect-church score
Ethical-social	12	60.0
Devotional	11	55.7
Theological-apologetical	12	61.3
Evangelical	28	53.6
Psychological	1	59.6

Of the twelve sermons dealing primarily with ethical issues, the emphasis was almost entirely upon matters of individual morality, and no one sermon could be described as primarily oriented toward broadly conceived social concerns. An often-found means of generalizing about immorality appears in the term "worldliness" or "of the world." For instance, one minister asked, "Isn't it shocking when a person has been made over new, when he has become a child of God and they follow the ways of the world and the devil and they are enticed to do just like the Joneses?"

The one sermon design classified as psychological was on the topic of "Happiness." It was in a Methodist church with a relatively high average score of 59.6 on the sect-church scale compared to a median of 57 for the total sample. A central idea was that happiness comes through obedience to God's will.

Now we're all in prison aren't we? We are in the prison of self, and that beloved, is the strong iron bars that bind us to a life of misery and sorrow and all the frustrating things. . . . Seek first the Kingdom of God . . . integrate our lives about him.

Of real interest is the devotional emphasis that appeared in the sermons of two of the three Negro churches that were included in the sample. During these services there was a good deal of oral response from the congregation; e.g., to these statements of assurances:

I like to put my trust in these things that men have brought about this morning. (Uh huh) I'd like to put my trust in things in which these eyes can see this morning. (Uh huh) But in my soul, my heart longs for God. Someone to hold us by the hand. (Yes, yes!) It is helplessness leaning on strength, weakness crying out for someone who is strong when a man prays. (Yes, Oh yes!)

In the devotional sermons especially, there are indications of the importance of a religious frame of reference in which the woes and the standards of this world are overcome.

In a Southern Baptist church there were a number of references reflecting a religious reinterpretation of status.

If you feel little and insignificant, feel like you are nobody, that nobody cares, (remember) you are a child of God, you've got something that God can use. Hallelujah! I'm telling you that we can do it now. Praise God for evermore!

These themes may be given a light touch, implying judgment on some, but emphasizing the wistful nature of these religious promises: From a Church of God church comes an announcement about a coming revival, which follows the singing of the two hymns, "I'm Going to Glory Land," and "O Carry Me Away."

I tell you when I get up in glory I expect to see a lot of other people up there, and I guess there'll be a lot of people up there that I don't expect to see there. In fact there may be some people surprised to see me up there, but I've decided to go just the same.

Understandably, the churches with sermon designs that were essentially devotional, as this has been defined, had an average church-sect score of

55.7, which indicates a greater sectness in general orientation than is true of the total sample.

The fact that twenty-eight, or almost 44 per cent, of the churches had evangelical sermons indicates for the region a predominance of concern with salvation, ways of achieving it and the fruits of it. The mean sect-church score for this group was 53, predominantly sect type. A further analysis showed that thirty-seven or about 58 per cent of the sample churches ended the service with an altar call or an exhortation for evangelical zeal on the part of the members. It appears that methods of conversion developed on the frontier have maintained their form. In some of the urban churches this altar appeal was stated more in terms of an appeal for voluntary choice of church membership, but generally the appeal made direct reference to "confession of Jesus Christ as your Lord and Savior" and stressed the necessity of personal salvation rather than the matter of group affiliation or attachment to a community of believers.

The urgency of salvation common to all of the evangelical sermons takes many different forms. There was considerable emphasis upon fear of the consequences without salvation. The following statement is from a Seventh Day Adventist service:

We are going to have perplexity, troublous times. We can see on every hand of the horizon the clouds of destruction and we need something, we need something.

Another emphasis, lifted up by one Southern Baptist pastor, urged the matter of personal decision and active belief as the way to salvation.

You do not have to curse, steal, drink and all those things to go to hell, but to sit and fold your hands and die and go to hell. But there is one thing you must do to be Christian and go to heaven, just believe in Jesus Christ.

In a service of an Evangelical United Brethren church, which scored high in churchlike attitudes, the minister interpreted salvation as a widening of life's opportunities.

Whenever we take Jesus Christ as our friend, as our Savior and guide in life, we are never working towards corners but we are always working toward doors, doors that open up into fuller lives, opportunities, service, life beyond.

Relation Between Ritual Types and Sermon Designs

Another aspect of the worship services appears when the ritual and sermon designs are correlated as they appear in Table 3. The most meaningful pattern immediately observable is the correlation of evangelistic sermons with the more emotionally demonstrative services. Both of the

TABLE 3
SERMON DESIGNS AND RITUAL TYPES FOR 64 CHURCH
SERVICES IN THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIANS

Sermon designs	Ritual Types					Total
	Ecstatic	Semidemonstrative	Informal	Deliberative	Liturgical	
Ethical ...	0	2	2	7	1	12
Devo- tional	0	1	3	7	0	11
Theo.- apol.	0	0	3	7	2	12
Psycho- logical	0	0	0	1	0	1
Evangel- ical	2	6	9	11	0	28
Total	2	9	17	33	3	64

ecstatic services were evangelical. Six out of nine or two thirds of the semidemonstrative, and nine out of seventeen or about one half of the informal services, were evangelical. Eleven or one third of the deliberative services and none of the liturgical services were evangelical. The proportion of evangelical sermons diminishes in almost exact relation to increasing formality in the type of ritual. This relation may be seen clearly by percentages in Table 4.

The only other apparent relationship between the ritual type and sermon designs appears in sermons of the liturgical services. Two of the three sermons in these services were primarily concerned with the problem of defining the nature of the church from a theological perspective. The small number of churches in this category, and the fact that one of the three sermons was ethical in dominant orientation, limits the confidence we can place in the association between liturgical ritual and emphasis upon a doctrine of the church, but the relation observed is in the expected direction.

TABLE 4

RITUAL TYPE AND EVANGELICAL SERMONS BY PERCENTAGES
FOR 64 SERVICES IN THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIANS

Ritual type	Per cent of sermons that are evangelical
Ecstatic	100.0
Semidemonstrative	66.7
Informal	52.9
Deliberative	33.3
Liturgical	00.0

Content Analysis of the Sermons, Lay Talks and Discussions

The second object of research in this paper was to describe the characteristics of religious belief with the idea of finding to what degree liberal theological beliefs have been accepted in the region. As a first step in discovering the variance of religious beliefs within the churches, a content analysis was made of the sermons, lay talks, and discussions. After scanning the material, a list of ten major theological subjects with 37 subtopics was extracted. The number and percentage of lines devoted to each major subject were secured.

The proportion of attention given to the major subjects does not necessarily distinguish the "liberal" churches from the more "fundamentalistic" ones, but certainly this was conceivably related to some general attitude sets and organizational patterns. One way of checking the proportion of attention to the different topics with known patterns of religious belief was to find the proportions by subject for churches with known scores on the sect-church scale.

Using the mean sect-church scores for each church, it was possible to group the churches by the scale scores, and to compare the amount of attention given to these major subjects between the more extreme sect-type churches, and the more church-type institutions. This comparison appears in Table 5. On Dynes's scale approximately one third of the churches in the region had scores clustered around the mean of 57. About one third of the churches had average scale scores below 54, moving toward the "sect" pole, while another third was clustered toward the "church" pole, above 60 on the scale. For the sake of finding the most clear-cut contrasts, the comparison was made between the two extreme groups.

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE OF LINES DEVOTED TO THEOLOGICAL SUBJECTS
BY SECT-CHURCH SCORES FOR SERMONS, LAY TALKS, AND
DISCUSSIONS IN 61 CHURCHES

Theological subject	Sect-church (-54) (60+)	Sermons	Lay talks	Discussions
Bible	Sect	16	39	8
	Church	10	38	4
God	Sect	10	9	7
	Church	10	8	8
Jesus Christ	Sect	12	8	7
	Church	13	1	7
Holy Spirit	Sect	2	2	4
	Church	1	0	1
Man	Sect	4	6	5
	Church	4	9	3
Salvation	Sect	25	11	28
	Church	8	1	11
The Church	Sect	6	5	12
	Church	18	15	27
Sacraments	Sect	2	2	7
	Church	2	5	8
Christian life	Sect	23	17	23
	Church	34	22	29
Evil	Sect	1	1	1
	Church	2	2	2

In Table 5 it is apparent, as one would expect, that the sect groups gave prominent attention to the subject of salvation. This included sub-topics such as conversion, sanctification, gifts of the Spirit, heaven and hell, the end of the world, and immortality. The church-type groups were more apt to emphasize the Christian life, which included the subjects of individual and community morality, stewardship, Christian works, devotional life, and one's attitude toward God.

The Bible takes more prominence in the sect groups, especially in the discussions, and attention given to the Holy Spirit, though relatively small in total percentage, is obviously more important in the sect groups. Discussion of topics related to the church, its nature and its role, received much more attention in those groups which were characterized as church type. This included such matters as internal authority, church program, interchurch relations, the church and community, and fellowship.

Ranking the Churches into Four Groups from Fundamentalism to Liberalism

Further content analysis was needed to focus upon the different interpretations given to these same major subjects. In the process of devising a method of conceptualizing and measuring these different emphases and interpretations within a continuum of Christian theological beliefs, the terms "fundamentalism" and "liberalism" were considered as polar types describing contrasting extremes.

Following the method described by Becker in his well-known sacred-secular typology, the definition of these types was abstracted from the material on the basis of empirically rooted contrasts. In this sense the proposed definitions are constructs that extract and sharpen the empirical data rather than idealize the actual.

In fundamentalism the religious values and truths are believed to be derived from God, a Being who is absolute in transcendental authority. The religious belief system emphasizes certain doctrines including the virgin birth, the bodily resurrection, and the blood atonement, which are requirements of faith in the plan of salvation. This plan offers the one true explanation of man's condition of insufficiency and sin, and the one means of gaining favor with God, the Omnipotent. There is an emphasis upon values that are "otherworldly" in character and are believed to have priority over the normal expectations and values that are culturally approved and esteemed. These values are achieved or merited by means of the techniques and beliefs designated by religious tradition and doctrine. The appeal to a supernatural authority for prescribed doctrines and practices is focused in an attitude toward the Bible as a source of revealed and inerant final truth. Generally there is a pessimistic view of man and the social order, and an alternative stress on dependence upon God and the need of obedience.

In liberalism there is a cluster of beliefs that emphasize "realistic" personal and social goals that are more congruent with the generalized societal values. The religious belief system may be conceived of as one

phase of man's cultural systems whereby he explains in an emotionally adjustive way his relationship to God or cosmic processes which significantly affect his destiny and that of his society. There are appeals to experience, evidence, and verified relationships rather than to supernatural authority or a proof text. Writings of the Bible are placed in their historic context, and different levels of religious value in the writings are recognized. There is considerable confidence in man and in his capacity to use reason in solving problems related to human welfare. Historical doctrines are restated in terms of desired psychological and social goals. The church is thought of as a community of believers with rights of individual speculation, with an emphasis upon fellowship; a major role of the church is thought to be the affirmation of ideal goals for social living and individual fulfillment.

Rating the Discussions from Fundamentalism to Liberalism

The more detailed content analysis was directed toward the informal discussions which appeared to offer the most representative picture of religious beliefs among church members. The members of the discussion groups, recruited at the suggestion of and with the aid of the pastor, spent an hour in a group session with the interviewer. In the discussion the participants were asked to list the religious beliefs and ideas that they thought were important and to discuss them in order of importance. Later in the hour, the interviewer introduced two other questions for discussion: (1) What, if any, do you consider controversial beliefs among the membership or with other churches? (2) How are religious beliefs to be applied in daily life?

Taking the ten major subjects that had been located and marked in the discussions, statements representing the polar types on each topic were devised. The members of two graduate seminars correctly identified each of the constructed statements with the polar types and verified the relevance of the statements to the types.

These statements were used to score each of the contributions by the participants in 61 discussions along a five-point continuum from extreme fundamentalism to extreme liberalism:

- 5—Extreme fundamentalism
- 4—Moderate fundamentalism
- 3—Mixed or indefinite
- 2—Moderate liberalism
- 1—Extreme liberalism

Each theologically relevant comment by a member of the discussion group was scored in this way and the average for the discussion as a whole was found.

The scoring process is illustrated by the following selections from a discussion of the *devil* in a metropolitan Presbyterian church. Each of the participants was assigned a number which was used to identify his comments (the number preceding each of the quotations.) In the numerical code to the right of each quotation, the first number is the subject under discussion, the second number the score assigned to that comment. In this example "10" refers to the subject of evil and "1" refers to extreme liberalism.

3. "I interpret Satan as meaning the evil that's in you, and not some definite being which is Satan." 10-1
7. "To me Satan is real. He does have a horn and tail." 10-5
4. "I think of this in terms of good and evil. We know that there is a force for good in the world that is expressed in Jesus, for instance, and that attitude, evil or call it the devil or what, it's there." 10-2
1. "And yet isn't it true that Satan is a part of God's plan and that he has a definite purpose here?" 10-5

Although it is obvious that there are wide differences of view here, the average score for the whole discussion was 2.57, or generally toward the liberal pole. In fact, of the entire sample, this church, on the basis of the average scores, ranked third in the most liberal group. There were only four churches that scored less than 3.0, with their average scores toward the liberal pole. Some discussions had scarcely a "whisper" of liberalism as defined here. It is an understatement to say that there was no sign of revolutionary changes toward liberalism in the region as a whole.

Four judges with different religious backgrounds scored a random sample of 10 discussions by the method just outlined. The average coefficient of concordance between the mean ranks of the judges and the ranks assigned to the ten discussions by the researcher was .969, obviously significant beyond standard levels of chance relationship.

Grouping the Sixty-one Churches

All of the churches were scored by the researcher, ranked according to the score on the fundamentalism-liberalism scale, and divided into four

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relatively homogeneous groups. Seventeen churches were ranked as relatively homogeneous in extreme fundamentalism with scores from 5 to 4.74. Fifteen churches were grouped into a moderate fundamentalism category (4.71 to 4.46). Fourteen churches were placed together in a moderate liberalism category (4.41 to 3.81). Fifteen churches were in the highest ranks toward liberalism (3.70 to 1.60).

These groupings were found to have a high correlation with denominational "runs"; in other words, most of the churches of particular denominations were found within one of the four groups. This relationship of denominational homogeneity within the groups was interpreted as an indication of greater variation among groups than within them and supported the division into four groups of churches made on the basis of scale scores and rank order of scores.

Educational and Occupational Levels of the Church Members

The major hypothesis of this paper predicted a relationship between the fundamentalism-liberalism ranking and the social-status levels as reflected in the educational and occupational prestige levels of the members of the churches.

Table 6 shows the consistent relationship between increase in liberalism and higher educational level. The median school year completed for each group of ranked churches varies as expected. Between adjacent groups the greatest difference is between the moderate fundamentalism group and the moderate liberalism churches. The difference in educational level for the two liberal groups is also significant.

TABLE 6

RANKED CHURCHES AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL FOR 61 CHURCHES IN THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIANS (MINISTERS, LAY LEADERS, AND MEMBERS)

Number of respondents	Ranked churches	Median school year completed	Kolmogorov-Smirnov two-sample test
170	Extreme fundamentalism	8.6	
150	Moderate fundamentalism	8.9	$D=2$, not significant
140	Moderate liberalism	12.1	$D=30$, p is less than .001
150	Extreme liberalism	12.3	$D=11$, p is less than .05

When the educational level of the ministers was considered separately from the other nine respondents of each church, differences of significance were found between extreme fundamentalism and moderate fundamentalism as well as between the two middle groups. The difference between the two liberalism groups was in the expected direction but not statistically significant.

TABLE 7

RANKED CHURCHES AND EDUCATION OF MINISTERS FOR
61 CHURCHES IN THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIANS

N	Ranked churches	Median schooling	Mann-Whitney <i>U</i> Test
17	Extreme fundamentalism	11.5	
15	Moderate fundamentalism	13.5	$U=79.5$, p equals .05
14	Moderate liberalism	16.5	$U=55.0$, p equals .025
15	Extreme liberalism	19.1	$U=80.5$, p not significant

For comparison of the ranked churches on occupational grouping of members, as indicated in Table 8, U.S. Census categories were used. These categories were presumed to reflect important prestige differences. For tests of significant differences some of the adjacent groups were combined.

Table 8 shows that increase in liberalism is associated with occupations of higher prestige. The percentage of the combined professional and managerial categories varies toward a larger part of the membership in each ranked group from extreme fundamentalism to extreme liberalism. The difference between the two extreme groups is significant at the .001 level.

The occupational group of farmers and farm managers cannot be taken as a homogeneous prestige group because of wide variation in the scale of farming.

The four ranked groups of churches have consistently more clerical and sales workers as one moves toward the liberal belief system. The difference between the proportions of clerical and sales workers in the two extreme groups is significant at the .005 level.

The correlation of craftsmen and operatives with belief rankings shows a reversal of proportion where, as expected, the fundamentalism churches

have a larger proportion of their members. For this region, it appears that this level of occupational prestige is positively correlated with fundamentalism. The difference between the proportions in the two extreme groups is significant at the .002 level.

TABLE 8

PER CENT OF LAY LEADERS AND MEMBERS OF THE RANKED CHURCHES IN OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS

	Extreme Fundamentalism	Moderate Fundamentalism	Moderate Liberalism	Extreme Liberalism
Professional, technical and kindred workers, per cent	5.6	4.4	6.0	15.2
Farmers and farm managers, per cent	17.1	18.6	17.9	11.4
Managers, officials, & proprietors, per cent	3.8	3.5	6.0	12.3
Clerical and sales workers, per cent	7.0	11.5	13.7	17.5
Craftsmen and operatives, per cent	62.1	49.6	44.4	39.5
Household and service workers and laborers, per cent	6.2	12.4	12.0	6.1
N=	129	113	117	114
Chi square is 48.1; with 15 degrees of freedom, <i>P</i> is less than .001.				

Differences within churches of the same denomination. If there is a clear functional relationship between social-status levels and religious belief, then important differences in status levels in churches of the same denomination should correlate with differences in religious beliefs.

In this sample the Methodist denomination was the only one with individual churches ranked in both the extreme fundamentalism group and the extreme liberalism group. As shown in Table 9, the two Methodist churches ranking high in fundamentalism had a median educational level of 8.8, while the two churches ranking highest toward liberalism had a median educational level of 13.7. The difference was significant at the .01 level.

TABLE 9

FUNDAMENTALISM-LIBERALISM RANKING AND EDUCATIONAL
LEVELS OF FOUR METHODIST CHURCHES

Ranked churches (2 in each group)	Number of respondents	Median education	Average on f-l scale	Kolmogorov- Smirnov test
Extreme fundamentalism	20	8.8	6.0	<i>D</i> = .11 <i>p</i> is less than .01
Extreme liberalism	20	13.7	57.5	

Comparing the two groups of churches again, this time on occupational groups, the extreme-fundamentalist churches had no professional or managerial occupations represented, while the extreme-liberal groups had 39 per cent of the sample members in professional and managerial positions. The difference is obviously significant.

There were individual churches of the Presbyterian denomination in adjacent ranked groups on the fundamentalism-liberalism scale which provided some further opportunity to test the hypothesis. When the churches ranked at either extreme of the scale were compared on educational levels, the median educational level was 12.5 for the liberal churches and 10.5 for the more fundamentalist group. This amount of difference could occur by chance only 10 times out of a hundred. Moreover, the more liberal churches had 17 per cent of the sample members and lay leaders in professional and managerial positions, compared to 11 per cent in the churches that were more fundamentalist. The difference of proportion was significant at the .05 level. Thus, within the denominations where it was possible to make the test, variation of religious belief is correlated with social-status variance, and liberalism is consistently associated with higher educational and occupational levels.

Some Implications of This Research

Description. At the level of general description, this research indicates that, while the religious beliefs and services of the region are predominantly of the sect type, there are signs of increasing formality and tolerance of some liberal theological beliefs. It is an observed fact that liberal theological beliefs occur in relation to higher education and higher occupational prestige.

Theory. At the level of a theory of the motivation of religious beliefs, one must ask *why* fundamentalism appeals primarily to the lower strata and liberalism to the upper strata. When there are exceptions to this relationship, why do they occur? (For instance, a Missouri Synod Lutheran church had an extremely high socioeconomic status level and yet ranked in the extreme fundamentalist group.) It is impossible to do much more than state these questions here. An attempt to develop a more adequate theory of the motivational factors involved appears elsewhere. (*Vide* Jackson, "Religious Beliefs and Social Status," unpublished dissertation, Emory University, 1960, Chapter 4.)

Church administration. At the level of practical value in church administration, this research carries several implications. There is surely a place for a realistic attitude by denominational leaders toward differences in religious orientation within and among the churches of the denomination. The presence of and broad outline of these religious differences can be expected to correlate with known variations in social status.

For a denomination such as the Methodist Church, whose churches have a wide range of dominant status levels, and in which there is tolerance for theological diversity, one can expect the greatest variance in religious orientation. Plans for national programs and for literature to be distributed nationally can take into account the presence of and pressures of different religious orientations in relation to known proportions of churches from different social strata.

For the professional religious leader in his own parish, the socioeconomic status of his people may be one of the guides to the religious language and habits of his people. This may also provide some immediate clue as to the expectations in theological beliefs placed upon the religious leader by members of the church. What is done with these expectations is another matter.

REVIEWS OF CURRENT BOOKS

Religion in American Society. Edited by Richard D. Lambert. *The Annals*. Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, November 1960. 220 pp., \$2.00. Paper.

This collection of articles by fourteen scholars, mostly Protestant churchmen, falls prey to some of the difficulties that could be expected in any effort to survey and interpret religion in contemporary America. It fails to give a balanced presentation of the multitudinous religious forces; it is occasionally "sectarian" (Protestant) in viewpoint; and it fails to be systematic in its criticism of the relationship of the church to society. Yet, the compilation of facts and the exciting theoretical orientations of three or four of the articles make this issue of *The Annals* a significant contribution to the sociology of religion and a fruitful resource for clergymen and students of American religion.

It may be asked: "Who can write about American religion more perceptively than those involved directly in the religious enterprise—clergymen, researchers and administrators for religious organizations, or professors of religion?" The answer, to judge by most of the articles, is that these types of writers generally fail to sustain a sufficiently critical view of the role of religion. To those who are experienced in the college classroom, in the councils of business and government, in the meetings of labor unions and civic groups, it may be difficult to take seriously the picture of religious expansion and zeal sketched in this series of articles. Americans seem to be increasingly active in religious organizations, but is society itself becoming more religious?

It is not clear whether the failure to review religious stands on such issues as nuclear disarmament, colonialism, and capital punishment is a silent commentary on American religion or whether it is a reflection of the paucity of research in these areas. But the essays contain little analysis of American religion's involvement in some of the fundamental issues being debated by physicists, psychiatrists, academicians—human survival, mental health, human rights.

Three articles stand out. Smith's "Historic Waves of Religious Interest in America" is a creditable review of revivalism, but more important are his two ironic hypotheses: that exclusion of religious training and observ-

ance from public schools has restricted rather than promoted the "incorporation of the scientific outlook into the American child's real world," and that "industrialization may turn out to unveil more the spiritual than the economic nature of man."

Ahlstrom's "Theology and the Present-Day Revival" tantalizes one to delve into contemporary theology, and his prediction that Christian theology offers a new attractiveness to the previously alienated intelligentsia is one of the few attempts to peer into the 1960's and beyond.

Probably the most significant contribution is Marty's "Sects and Cults." The author not only makes theoretical advances in defining "sect" and "cult," but he interprets the emergence of these phenomena and assesses prospects for their survival. Also noteworthy are Douglass' "Ecological Changes and the Church," Ebersole's "Religion and Politics," and Lee's "Religion among Ethnic and Racial Minorities."

Some important issues are only casually mentioned or omitted entirely. The expanding gap between ministerial students and ministerial needs is not elaborated; a critique of bureaucratization, including trends in churches with congregational and presbyterial polities, is assiduously avoided; and attacks upon "liberal" religion, especially from the political "right," are not even described. Notably missing is an examination of the vitality of theological scholarship, as manifested in the swelling intellectual enthusiasm in seminaries, in the plethora of journals, both scholarly and popular, devoted to religious research and reporting, and in the abundance of religious books, especially paperbacks, available to a wide audience.

Conditions for religion in America are changing. The replenishment and the challenge provided by the immigrant are gone. The rural-to-urban migration is almost completed. America has forcibly come of age militarily, politically, economically, technologically. Educational advances have produced a laity almost as well educated as the clergy. The consequences of these changes for American religion are hardly confronted by this collection of articles. Is America to produce theologians capable of leadership in a post-Protestant nation in a post-Christian world?

Leonard D. Cain, Jr., Sacramento State College

Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace. By Roland H. Bainton. New York: Abingdon Press, 1960. 299 pp., \$4.75.

In this readable, powerful, sobering volume, packed with information, Professor Bainton has given us the results of decades of research and reflection. A Christian pacifist who served in France during World War I with a Quaker Red Cross unit, he has made Christian attitudes toward war and peace a major interest for decades. As he sees it, those attitudes have been divided among pacifism, advocacy of a just peace, and engaging in war as a righteous crusade.

The author begins with a sketch of attitudes in pre-Christian Graeco-Roman antiquity which, in the form of the definition of a just war, later entered into Christian thinking. Then follows a chapter on the Old Testament, where he finds precedent for war as a crusade. He then suggests that the New Testament is ambivalent but stresses the role of the peacemaker. Although for the most part the members of the early Church were pacifists, some notable exceptions are of record. As the conversion of the Roman Empire proceeded, the idea of a just war was widely adopted, especially in its formulation by Augustine.

The Middle Ages saw contradictory positions—the holy war of the Crusades, attempts to enforce the truce of God and the peace of God, and the pacifism of some of the sects. Bainton calls attention to pacifist humanists of the Renaissance, such as Erasmus. The Reformation was accompanied and followed by the wars of religion between Catholics and Protestants, but there quickly emerged the historic peace churches—of the Anabaptists and the Quakers. The Enlightenment gave birth to many projects for universal peace. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries are given, properly, somewhat more space. We are told of the peace movements of the nineteenth century which emerged from the Protestant conscience, the crusading idealism and the hysterical nationalism in Britain and America in World War I, but also the emergence in those tragic years of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Then came attempts to eliminate war through the League of Nations, the outlawry of war, the reduction of armaments, and nonviolent resistance. They were followed by World War II, endorsed reluctantly by churches as a just war.

This historical survey, made with the objectivity of a distinguished historian, is followed by an appraisal of the traditional Christian positions. Bainton points out the weaknesses in the Christian undergirding of a crusade and of just wars—even limited wars. He comes out for Christian pacifism but notes that it has many varieties. He concludes with a frank and moving statement of his own position, realizing well that it will not bring conviction to all Christians or even to all pacifists.

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In so brief a book all phases of the history cannot be included. For example, we are not told of the fashion in which the Christian conscience gave birth to the Red Cross in an effort to alleviate war, and there is only the briefest mention of the United Nations, and that not a very hopeful one. Bainton has no illusions. He faces open eyed the perils of the present situation, but he is not completely hopeless. Nor would he abandon his pacifism even if that meant the victory of tyranny. He recognizes that if we renounce power we shall be at a grave disadvantage in dealing with the unscrupulous. But, he concludes, "Are we to renounce honor, shame, mercy, and compassion in order to live? The ancient pagans would not have said so. Did not Socrates say that to suffer injustice is better than to inflict it? Shall we allow this pagan to take over the virtues which we have been wont to call Christian, while we invoke Christ to justify nuclear annihilation?"

Kenneth Scott Latourette, Yale University

Religions of the East. By Joseph M. Kitagawa. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960. 319 pp., \$4.50.

As "an Easterner [who] has tried to identify himself with the West without losing his identity with the East," Dr. Kitagawa possesses an admirable background for writing on the religions of mankind. He was born in Osaka, Japan, graduated from Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, has taught at the Buddhist Koyasan University, and since 1951 has taught the history of religions at the University of Chicago.

An opening essay on "'One World' and Religions" raises the important question of whether modern Hinduism, Islam, Confucianism, and Buddhism can develop into genuine world religions. However, the problem that this may be a contradiction in terms for Hinduism and an anachronism for Confucianism is not realistically discussed. Nor is the basic question of whether one world can really subsist on the basis of radical religious pluralism.

Kitagawa's major concern is exhibited in the titles for his four main chapters: "Chinese Religions and the Family System," "Hinduism and the Caste System," "Buddhism and the Samgha," and "Islam and the Ummah." He is intent to analyze these four great traditions sociologically as well as theologically and metaphysically. Every religion, he says, generates a "holy community" in which it becomes incarnate. Such a "church" is a living organism with a peculiar character, spirit, and vision expressive of its fundamental vision.

From this perspective he expounds the Chinese religious tradition primarily in terms of Confucianism, with its emphasis upon the family as

"metaphysically ultimate." For Hinduism the caste system functions as the expression within the empirical social sphere of the world order itself. In Buddhism the "Order" or Samgha is the basic social category, and in Islam the Ummah, the community of all Muslims.

Kitagawa does not ignore the fact that any religion is as much a response to the power and depth of *nature* as to social experience. The relation between nature-components and social-components is dealt with most satisfactorily in the Hinduism chapter. Elsewhere one could wish for more adequate attention to this factor. The importance and the meaning of Taoism in China hardly comes clear, for example.

Despite its being a generally competent and highly informative book, certain questions emerge. Most obviously, in what sense is Islam a "religion of the east"? Do we not best understand it as standing decisively on the western side of the great watershed between western and eastern religions? Again, Dr. Ambedkar is surely not an example of the power of Buddhism to "inspire people to fight for the cause of justice and freedom," but rather an example of frank political exploitation of outcaste resentment of Hinduism. The treatment of Mo Ti is highly conventional and misses the really remarkable fact that here a prophet of an ethical monotheism, similar in spirit to that of the Bible, emerges on Chinese soil. I doubt that there has been "generous use" by Chinese communism of Confucian ethical principles (p. 66). The key Confucian principle of *shu* is not "practical application" of ethical principles but rather "reciprocity," making our own feelings a guide for dealing with others (p. 81).

In so wide-ranging a book the author cannot, of course, be expected to have detailed mastery of all his subject matter; but at some points there seems to be considerable reliance upon secondary sources of uncertain authority.

David M. Stowe, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

The Church on the Urban Frontier. By G. Paul Musselman. Greenwich, Conn.: Seabury Press, 1960. 136 pp., \$3.25.

Paul Musselman writes as he speaks, with a freshness of vocabulary and a sharpness of insight which are intriguing and usually convincing. At least one knows where he stands, even though the evidence he adduces to support his views may at times be rather slim. In this book, written primarily for his Episcopalian colleagues, there is no pussyfooting. Indeed, he would probably feel his job was poorly done if he did not receive some howls of protest. He will no doubt be satisfied on this score, as more than one foot is stepped on—with glee in Musselman's eyes.

Starting with the assertion that there are 100 million unchurched Americans, he notes that the church is losing ground, not winning, particularly in urban America, and quotes Episcopalian statistics to support his contention. Perhaps the prevailing conception of the parish is in part at fault. We need, Musselman feels, to avoid the costly building projects which often sink a half million dollars or more into property, which is like an albatross around the neck when population shifts, absorbing so much in maintenance that there is little for personnel and program.

As he wanders over the whole area of urban-church dilemmas, the author makes some sharp remarks about "the puzzled profession"—the clergy ordained and, at least nominally, employed to proclaim the gospel and minister to the souls of men, but finding themselves tied to administration and ecclesiastical housekeeping. Equally irritated are members of the vestry, men of ability selected to be the board of directors of the church, who feel ill prepared for the job, who have not been helped to see its potential importance, and who complain of the vestry's preoccupation with petty, inconsequential matters.

One of his most biting chapters (and the reviewer suspects that Musselman takes delight in sinking his incisors into some issues—if not people) is titled "Stalemate in Suburbia." It consists largely of quotations from unhappy and disillusioned rectors who had thought that in these parlors of America they might find spiritual interest but, as one remarked, "Our town has the manners of a King's court but the morals of a pigeon. . . ." Said another, "Right now I'd just as soon go back to the depressed-area parish where I came from!" The picture the author paints so vividly is not pretty nor is it encouraging, considering how much of the leadership of the church, lay and clerical, tends to be concentrated in these lush communities.

Would that Musselman and the rest of us were as successful in problem solving as in the fascinating job of indicting.

Murray H. Leiffer, Garrett Biblical Institute

Protestant Thought and Natural Science. By John Dillenberger. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1960. 310 pp., \$4.50.

This thoughtful book belongs among the hopeful signs that the relations between natural science and theology, long laid on the shelf by most theologians, are again getting scholarly attention.

John Dillenberger analyzes the effect upon Protestant theology of scientific advances since Copernicus and the Reformation. The progress in astronomy, physics and chemistry, geology, and biological evolution brought varying relationships between science and theology. The two dis-

ciplines sometimes ignored each other. They stood off and argued. They each dictated conclusions to the other. And theology tried to use science for theological purposes—e.g., to prove the existence of God. Dillenberger shows the defects and evasions in all these methods. The hero of the history, if there is one, turns out to be Schleiermacher. Although the content of his theology was inadequate, Schleiermacher was methodologically important for his time because he “brought the Newtonian world and the religious dimensions together without obscuring or mixing them.”

The rest of the nineteenth century brought further difficulties. The “Chapters in Historical Analysis” (the greater portion of the book) conclude with the sentence: “The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may have been one of those rare periods in history in which theology was virtually impossible, when the crisis of language and imagination excluded the essential depth of both God and man.”

Two chapters, headed “Notes on New Directions,” raise contemporary issues. The author describes the scientific revolution (connected with Bohr, Einstein, Heisenberg, and others) and the comparable theological revolution (led by Barth, Tillich, and Bultmann). Although avoiding the blithe conclusions of those who think the problems between science and theology are solved, he shows how each discipline has intensified its own methods and content, yet become more modest in ultimate claims. When neither science nor theology pretends to offer a complete world view, the two can live together.

But problems remain. The time is ripe, not for answers, but for raising questions. Dillenberger urges careful separation of the two disciplines, caution in any positive interrelating of them, yet an effort “to relate what we can.”

I find all this persuasive. I hold a higher estimate of the nineteenth century than Dillenberger does and am even more cautious about science’s “more congenial conception of nature” today. But I admire this scholarly historical study and perceptive analysis of contemporary issues.

The book raises the question of whether the time is ripe for a comparable volume on the social sciences. Many of the preparatory monographs have been written. A synoptic and analytic study would be helpful.

Roger L. Shinn, Union Theological Seminary

Safe in Bondage. By Robert W. Spike. New York: Friendship Press, 1960. 165 pp., \$2.75. *God's Colony in Man's World.* By George W. Webber. New York: Abingdon Press, 1960. 155 pp., \$2.75.

These two volumes serve as excellent companions for the person seeking an informed and provocative analysis of the Church in its response to

American culture. Dr. Spike, writing from the rich heritage of a home missions executive, cuts to the very core of the socioeconomic challenges which confront the life and action of the Church.

It is most refreshing to find a "church bureaucrat" speaking so boldly concerning the Church's involvement, or lack of involvement, in contemporary life. Spike's book is written primarily for local parish use. Yet it has value also for students of American culture because of the illuminating way in which the author applies sociological insights and concepts in his interpretation of the Church's relations to social issues. One of the most suggestive aspects of the book is its listing of the new and potential ministries to particular segments of our society which have been largely overlooked.

Mr. Webber, one of the dynamic founders of the East Harlem Protestant Parish, brings into sharp focus many of the issues raised in *Safe in Bondage* and deals with them in depth from the vantage point of East Harlem. Even though Webber's experience has been primarily in the slums of East Harlem, his critique of American value patterns incorporated in the life of the Church and his analysis of the vulnerabilities of urban churches make possible some perceptive generalizations. Both books are "must" reading for those dissatisfied with the present state of religion in America and for those searching for an essentially theological analysis of American culture and its churches.

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The Overseas Americans. By Harlan Cleveland, Gerard J. Mangone, and John Clarke Adams. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 1960. 305 pp., \$5.95.

Following the revival of Wall Street's interest in the publishing field, there has been a rash of "timely" books. Biographies, area studies, problem studies, etc. seem to arrive in the book store at the same moment that important stories on these subjects are hitting the newsstand on the corner or the news broadcasts on radio and television. These books generally fall into two categories: those which have been held in "cold storage" for just the right moment, and those which are hastily thrown together at the first hint of newsworthiness. The former suffer from pretended currency, and the latter suffer from inadequate preparation. *The Overseas Americans* by

Messrs. Cleveland, Mangone, and Adams is, without doubt, a timely book, but it is a bright exception to the categories just discussed.

While the nation is agog with talk about "the new frontiers," the Peace Corps, the ugly Americans, the emerging nations, and the revolution of expectations, there arrives at the book store a considered and carefully prepared statement about the more than 100,000 American civilians who work with United States organizations overseas. They are identified by occupation, their reasons for being abroad are exposed, their performance is analyzed and basic criteria for effectiveness are established, and their status as object lessons for American education is discussed. Shortcomings in the education, selection, and training of Americans for work abroad are emphasized but not exaggerated, and one is pleased to find agenda for action in place of a sorrowful conclusion which only points up the enormity of the problems.

For those people who are professionally interested in the problems discussed in this book, there is little to revolutionize their expectations. These same people, on the other hand, will find many facts to support their responsible opinions and to refute the irresponsible declarations of others whose only interest in the field results from reading certain fictionalized accounts of American activity overseas. All who read this work will be impressed by the clarity of the presentation, the breadth of coverage, and the frequent insights; but professionally concerned readers will lament the relatively narrow sampling process and the lack of depth in dealing with broad vocational categories. A case in point is the discussion of missionaries, in which sweeping challenges are directed toward Christian endeavor in rapidly developing areas without a sufficiently helpful analysis of the obstacles and implicit contradictions.

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